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out Ranjit Singh's efforts for the settlement of the hill districts, we come in contact with the family who exerted for so many years an important influence in the Lāhor state—an influence which much affected the English in their dealings with it—and between whom and the English Government the relations that were entered on constitute the foundation of the present political constitution of the territories we speak of.

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J. D. Cunningham, in his 'History of the Sikhs,'* shows that from a brother of Ranjit Dev, Raja of Jummo, were descended, in the third generation, three brothers, Gulāb Singh, Dhiyān Singh, and Suchet Singh. These three were young men at the time when Ranjit Singh's rise to chief power at Lāhor made that the most likely place for the advancement of those whose only trade was fighting. The two elder brothers, Gulāb Singh and Dhiyān Singh, came to Ranjit Singh's court with the object of pushing their way as soldiers of fortune. Gulāb Singh first became a *sawār*, or trooper, under Jemadār Khushiāl Singh, a trusted servant of Ranjit Singh's. I do not know what was Dhiyān Singh's first step; but it was not long before he attracted the attention of the ruler, for he was a young man of considerable gifts of person as well as mental talents. He obtained the special favour of Ranjit Singh, and before long was advanced to the important post of *deodhiwālā* or *deorhiwālā*, that is to say, chief door-keeper. In a native court, a place of personal government, the door-keeper, possessing as he does the power of giving or restraining access to the chief, has considerable influence; this influence Dhiyān Singh now exerted in "making a party," so as by this means, as well as by his own exertions with the Maharaja Ranjit Singh, to advance his family. The personal qualifications of the brothers at the same time helped, and it was not long before the fortunes of all three—for Suchet Singh had joined his elder brothers—became well founded.

[661]
Gulāb Singh rose to the independent command of a troop, and in one of the hill wars he distinguished himself by taking

* I have repeated in Appendix VI. the genealogy given by Cunningham.

CHAP. I.]

INTRODUCTION

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One of his chief faults was an unscrupulousness as to the means of attaining his own objects; he did not draw back from the exercise of cruelty in the pursuit of them, but he was not wantonly cruel. An avariciousness always distinguished him; in the indulgence of the passion he was unable to take the wide view by which his subjects' wealth would be found compatible with the increase of his own.

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Some qualities had Gulāb Singh which mitigated the effects of an administration worked on the principles above denoted. He was always accessible, and was patient and ready to listen to complaints. He was much given to looking into details, so that the smallest thing might be brought before him and have his consideration. With the customary offering of a rupee as *nazar* anyone could get his ear; even in a crowd one could catch his eye by holding up a rupee and crying out "*Mahārāj, 'arz hai!*" that is, "*Mahārāja, a petition!*" He would pounce down like a hawk on the money, and having appropriated it would patiently hear out the petitioner. Once a man after this fashion making a complaint, when the *Mahārāja* was taking the rupee, closed his hand on it and said, "No, first hear what I have to say." Even this did not go beyond Gulāb Singh's patience; he waited till the fellow had told his tale and opened his hand; then taking the money he gave orders about the case.

The rise from comparatively low station to high position did not spoil him; that is to say, he did not become stuck-up with pride, nor did he often stand greatly on his dignity; indeed, he was ordinarily familiar and free with all classes, and was distinguished by that quality which in a ruler otherwise respected goes so far to conciliate the natives of India, that which they call *bhālamānāsī*, which may be translated "*bonhomie*." This is the more noteworthy as those faults he was free from are the ones most generally contracted by people of his caste who raise themselves in social rank.

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This picture of Gulāb Singh's character is different from some accounts of him that have appeared in books that tell of the late history of the Panjāb. I have written from the impression I received from all I heard of him from servants or from subjects of

482 arrived I found one man carrying it, a large solid leather kit bag, and his own rations. The weight was at the least a hundred and fifty pounds. I was extremely angry, and made it very unpleasant all round, as plenty of coolies had been arranged for.

563 Nothing of the sort ever occurred again, but my orderlies told me, and I saw enough to show that the report was true, that the sepoy's treated the coolies like dogs, and beat them as they would a beast of burden. The fact is, the Kashmiri villager proper, to which class our carriers belonged, comes of a race that has been mercilessly oppressed for centuries by

[798] foreign Mahomedan rulers from India. Being a Mahomedan, he has been specially ill-used since Kashmir passed under Hindu rule. The sepoy's and officials of all classes are almost to a man Dogras and other Hindus who have absolutely no sympathy with the Kashmiri. The race is physically fine, great, strong men and well fed, but morally they are, what their oppression has made them, liars and pitiful cowards, who cringe to the stick of the sepoy like spaniels. My coolies said they were never paid when employed on Government work, and that they generally had to supply their own rations. They certainly expected no pay on this occasion, and were delighted and astonished beyond measure when I saw them paid myself. The Durbar made nothing by the transaction when coolies were impressed, it was duly charged for their hire, but the money stuck in the hands of those drawing it. A new era has now opened, owing to the revenue settlement carried out by my friend, Mr Walter Lawrence, a distinguished member of the Indian Civil Service, whose services

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THE GURAI VALLEY

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- 651 were lent to the Durbar for this purpose by Govern-
 • 661 ment. The villagers are no longer liable to be
 dragged out for forced labour if they do not satisfy
 the extortionate demands of tax collectors and plun-
 dering officials. But it will take many a long year
 before the Kashmiri becomes a man.

487 The next few marches are up the valley of the
 133 Kishengunga, one of the most beautiful in Kashmir.
 137 The road runs for the most part near the river,
 through fir forest and thickets of deciduous trees and
 bushes, amongst which the white Persian lilac and
 wild roses show in great profusion. At the lower end
 of the valley is a splendid grove of branching poplars,
 beyond which, near Gurais, are a few miles of open
 cultivation and stretches of meadow land. The steep
 hill sides for the most part, however, close in on the
 river; the slopes facing north covered with forest,
 those facing south bare of trees but grass-grown, as is
 usual in the Himalayas, where the summer sun burns
 up the southern exposed slopes too much to permit
 of young woods growing. The mountains rise in
 grand peaks, broken into precipices hung with fir
 and birch, and interspersed with alpine meadows.

133 The height of the Gurais valley is about eight
 thousand feet, and the climate as near perfection in
 spring, summer, and autumn as can be found on earth.
 000 We habitually marched early for the sake of the
 coolies, starting any time after four or five, stopping
 to breakfast at some tempting spot, where we would
 spend most of the day reading or wandering off the
 road in search of views and game, and finally reaching
 camp some time in the afternoon. It was the exist-
 ence of the nomad, the charm of which once tasted

701 condition, mostly composed of worn-out old men or of boys, and half the force existed only on paper. I calculated that of all the troops fully seventy-five per cent. were unfit to serve.

705 A couple of days gave me time to consider what steps were most urgently required to put the fort in a proper state for defence, and to go into the most pressing question regarding the increase in the water-supply. On increased water-supply depended increased cultivation, and on this hinged the question of feeding the troops. An inspection of the available positions for a new and safer ferry over the Indus followed, and an afternoon's fishing at the mouth of a stream running into the Indus, where we got fairly good sport. The Indus itself was in high flood, and full of snow water, so we failed to move any big fish, but later in the year it would repay fishing.

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661 A few more days saw us in Gilgit, where I spent a fortnight waiting for my stores and baggage, getting in to touch with the local authorities, and in preparing for my visit to Hunza and Nagar. I had received a letter while on the road from the Resident, asking me, in the name of the Kashmir Council, to receive a large sum of money which was being sent up, and to see myself personally to the payment of the troops. This was a fairly strong reflection on the honesty of the Kashmir official to come from the Durbar itself, and irksome though the work was, I welcomed the opportunity offered. For
648 me there were several advantages. The people of the country and the troops would see that money and power were on our side; that the Kashmir Government trusted us; that we were not above seeing to

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A TREACHEROUS OFFICIAL

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648 things ourselves; and, finally, that when it came to paying out money, none of it would stick in our hands.

661 The local authorities were, of course, furious at being deprived of the grand opportunity for plunder, which the passage of twenty-five thousand pounds through their fingers would have given, and opposition to the Agency, and to the orders and interests of their own Government, began at once. The treacherous official, who had betrayed the Kashmir troops into the hands of the enemy the year before, was still occupying a very strong position at Gilgit, and intrigued against me at every turn. I found that under his auspices endless lies were being disseminated about me, and every difficulty put in the way of my work; the neighbouring chiefs were warned against having any dealings with me; told that the Agency was not to be re-established, and threatened with the vengeance of this scoundrel and his confederates the moment we left. Cringing in my presence, he was a little too incautious behind my back, insolent to my men, and abusive about his masters in Kashmir. Finally my chance came, and I sent him off to Astor to see to some work there. Confident in his own power, he went straight through to Kashmir, where, to his surprise and disgust, he met with a very bad reception, and found himself banished to an outlying district. I found strong evidence both in Hunza and Nagar that this scoundrel, besides being a traitor, had been largely interested in the slave trade, and instrumental in handing over Sepoys and Balti coolies to the Hunza people to sell across the border.

000 Besides being engaged in a duel with the very

000 halted a couple of days at Chalt to pay the troops there and at Chaprot, and to write my report on the proceedings of the Mission.

701 Manners-Smith now left me to ride back to Astor
• 661 and pay the troops there and at Bunji, and I marched into Gilgit, paying the troops at Nomal *en route*. I paid several hundred men with my own hands. Many of them had seen no pay for two years, but I received few complaints as to the correctness of their accounts. The Artillery to a man objected to having to pay extra for greatcoats, in addition to being mulcted for uniform, most of which they had never received, and I sympathised with them. The whole thing was a delightful example of red tape administration, the returns of uniform and pay were accurate and full, the only slight defect being that the uniforms were not forthcoming, and that the men were never paid. I found several men ill at Nomal, and not the slightest attempt made to do anything for them. The General had given orders that no sick men were to be sent into Gilgit, so that the want of medical arrangements might not be too glaringly apparent. But he had not counted on the unpleasant English habit of searching personal inspections. The want of humanity in the treatment of the troops did not strike the high-caste Hindu. You might not kill a cow in the country, but thousands of troops might be left to rot in foul barracks, with no medical arrangements for their care or healing, without a word of protest, or an attempt at alleviation.

000 Kashmiri mal-administration was maddening, the covert opposition, obstinacy, and callousness of the officials were disheartening, but I could make allow-

D has to seize the neck and drink the spouting blood.
79/ If successful in this, he or she is at once recognised as inspired. If the ordeal is too much, then a contemptuous pity is extended to the aspirant, as to one who has been on the verge of attaining to great things, but has failed owing to personal defect. Those who cannot fulfil the conditions are said invariably in the end to go mad.

D The Bagrot valley, where we saw the Dainyal,
135 was further of interest in that about the best gold
316 of the country is found in its bed, and in the Gilgit river below where the Bagrot stream runs in. Every year, after the summer floods are over, the deposits in back waters and sand-banks are carefully washed, and a fair amount of gold, considering the rough methods and unskilled labour of the prospectors, is collected.

K When we first went to Gilgit pure gold was selling
66/ there at two-thirds its price in Srinagar, and the Kashmir officials and soldiers were doing a profitable trade. The amount collected by the officials each year must have been considerable. Every petitioner or visitor, as a rule, presented his little *nazzar*—the complimentary offering from an inferior to a superior
K always given in the East—in gold dust. The gold
436 was poured into the blossom of a dried flower like a lupin, of a very tough texture. The mouth of the flower was screwed together, and the tiny packet was popped into another flower, and again screwed up, each packet containing a recognised weight. I
K have had double handfuls of the little packets poured
66/ on to my table by an anxious royal petitioner, an unsatisfactory arrangement so far as I was concerned, for my *nazzars* were returned to the donors. A

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OFFERINGS IN DURBAR

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native gentleman naturally keeps the offerings, and the amount of gold which left Gilgit when a Governor was changed, or his confidential man went to Kashmir, was pretty considerable. We had rather an amusing instance of the differences of method after I had been at Gilgit for a couple of years, and the local chiefs had become accustomed to having, in official language, their offerings "touched and remitted" instead of kept. One of the Kashmir princes, Raja Ram Singh, came to Gilgit, and I had summoned all the neighbouring chiefs and leading men to a Durbar held in his honour. As each man came forward he produced, according to custom, gold or silver, and the looks of horror and bewilderment which followed when the Raja with a graceful movement of his hand indicated that the offerings were to be put down and left were most entertaining. The word was soon passed, however, and the presents fell off in value with extraordinary rapidity. The disgust of the donors when their offerings were collected and sent to the Government Treasury afforded us all, even the victims, considerable amusement.

But if we could not collect gold, we set ourselves to collect heads. The sport round Gilgit was magnificent for those who could get time for it. Personally, I only managed twice to get away for any length of time, once during my last months at Gilgit, when I got the best ten days in the year, when the ibex in the spring are just off the snow enjoying the fresh spring grass, and once in winter, when I went a little way down the Indus valley after markhor.

This was within an ace of being my last shoot, for I left my escort a march below Bunji, and made a

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499 noitring lines of road along the cliffs between Gilgit and Bunji, and in laying out the approaches and collecting material for the bridge over the Indus.

000 My time was now fully occupied at Gilgit. The year before I had drawn up complete schemes for putting the postal and transport arrangements on a proper footing. Both had, of necessity, been shelved, and the matter had to be gone into again. The first difficulty was finally solved by including Kashmir in the Imperial postal system of India, the second by placing the whole of the commissariat and transport arrangements under an officer of the Indian Commissariat Department. These changes were not, however, carried out for another two years, and I had to struggle on as before.

66/ 705 On going into the question of supply I found that the figures given me the year before by the Governor of Gilgit, with reference to the grain revenue, were incorrect. There was a deficit of over a hundred and forty tons of grain, no light matter with no surplus grain in the country, and a brigade of troops and a mule battery to feed. By dint of the most careful supervision the troops were fed, but at the beginning of June 1891, when the first crop was cut, I had but a week's consumption left in hand. It was most anxious work. My enquiries into the management of the grain stores—the whole revenue of the district was paid in grain—showed that extensive speculation was going on. After weeks of patient investigation, I found that the Governor's right-hand man was the chief culprit. I handed over the papers proving the case up to the hilt against this man to the Governor, who acknowledged his servant's guilt,

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DIFFICULTIES OF SUPPLY

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but informed me that he would do all he could to prevent his being punished, and that, if necessary, he would spend five hundred pounds in Kashmir to ensure his acquittal. 661 705

The troops were now well and regularly fed so far as their grain ration went, but they received no issue of salt, clarified butter, etc., and I had another year's struggle with the Durbar before this was righted. In Kashmir the grain issue might have sufficed; the men could buy salt, ghi, and vegetables for a trifle, but these necessaries were ruinously dear and very scarce in Gilgit. We did our best for the men by getting up vegetable seeds from India and starting gardens for them, but this was merely a palliative. Every year, towards the beginning of spring, scurvy broke out, and the troops suffered seriously, until, when my cultivation had spread, I was able to check it by issuing Lucerne grass to the men to eat as a vegetable. 705

The investigation of the supply difficulty showed that for my next year's consumption I should require, in addition to what the Gilgit district supplied, a little over five hundred tons of grain to be landed at Astor from Kashmir, of which four hundred and eighty tons must come on to Bunji, and of this again three hundred and sixty tons to Gilgit. This was a terrible prospect with no mule road beyond Astor, and the serious result of the road contractors and their workmen not having crossed the passes became every day more evident. It was in no way their fault, but that of the authorities in Kashmir. The latter, however, were, I knew, heavily handicapped, owing to changes in the administration of the country, and to embarrassed finances.

A Trip to Ladakh

and arrived at the Commissioner's camp at Kargil in time 000
 for a late breakfast. His party consisted of Mr and Mrs
 Beech (Beech stood six feet six inches, a giant of a man);
 Mrs Darrah, whose husband, a great sportsman, was
 awaiting her in Leh; Jack Phelps and P. H. Church, who
 were on a long expedition to the district of the Pang
 Gong Lake, a salt lake 100 miles in length, and the
 Chang Chenmo, after "ovis ammon" and "ovis poli."
 I received a hearty welcome and a real good breakfast,
 which I much enjoyed after my forced march to catch up
 this party.

Kargil is the capital of a district called Purik, and is B
 inhabited by Mohammedans of the Shiah sect. Colonel 764
 Ward mentions a curious custom in connection with the
 burial of their dead. An aperture is left in the earth over
 the grave, and a rectangular box of masonry is built over
 this, with a small door and window. Flour is dropped
 down on the body; this is done at intervals for a period
 of three moons. Afterwards the hole above the body is
 closed, as also the door and window.

That morning the Governor of the Province called on K
 us. He was a Kashmiri Brahman, a little man, but from 648
 the size of his lower chest he evidently had done himself (635)
 well. Captain Trench asked him to show him his state-661
 ment of grain accounts, as there was a threatened shortage
 of food that autumn. He had received orders to keep
 large stores of grain in case of emergencies, the old
 fort on the hill having been requisitioned for such
 a purpose. The books were brought, and from them
 Captain Trench saw that his orders had been faithfully
 obeyed, and the fort was just bulging with grain, like the
 Governor's lower chest. Captain Trench was so pleased
 to hear of the great supplies that he told the Governor
 he would like to see how he had managed to store so

A Trip to Ladakh

648 much, and would visit the fort that very afternoon at
661 three P.M.

At two-thirty the Governor with his suite arrived at our camp again, to invite the Commissioner Sahib and all his party to take tea with him at his house, but as it was such a hot day surely it would be more comfortable for the ladies if they and all the party came up later, say four-thirty P.M. Captain Trench accepted for the whole party, but said that he at any rate would visit the fort first and afterwards come on to tea. So we all climbed the hill towards the fort, and as we neared it the Governor again pressed Captain Trench to come straight to his house for tea and afterwards visit the fort, for was it not very hot?—and the evening-time would be cooler, etc. Captain Trench would not give in, and made straight for the fort, we all following him.

When we all entered through the large gateway into the quadrangle Captain Trench asked the Governor where the store-rooms were. The Governor pointed towards a certain door. Captain Trench asked the Governor to have the door opened, whereupon he called to a chaprasi to go and bring the keys. The chaprasi remained absent a long time, so the Governor again asked Captain Trench to come to his house for tea while the keys were being fetched. But no, Captain Trench was firm on the point, he would see the store first, and asked the Governor to hurry up his chaprasi. So another man was sent after the first. At last the servant arrived, breathless, with a huge bunch of large keys, and commenced trying to—or, to be truthful, pretending to—open the great lock. He went through the whole lot, but no key would fit it. So the Governor again broached the subject of tea, and apologised for the foolishness of his servant, explaining that the man with the right set of keys had left the

A Trip to Ladakh

office with the keys. So Captain Trench asked the Governor to send a man after him and fetch the keys. He said that he would, but this servant with the keys lived a long way off, and it would all take time, and again mentioned tea first. 648
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Captain Trench's patience was beginning to give out, and he said: "Do not bother about the keys: we will soon burst that door open with that big beam," pointing to one leaning against the wall.

The Governor begged him not to do that, for he would send a man running to fetch the right keys. In an extraordinarily short time, considering the great distance this man was supposed to have covered, the man arrived, puffing and blowing, playing his part well, with another (?) great bunch of keys, though uncommonly like the first bunch which had proved useless.

The keys were applied, but the lock refused to be opened. Again the Governor expressed his sorrow for the delay, and was about to suggest tea once more, when the battering-ram again was mentioned, and Captain Trench made a move towards it. Then the Governor, seeing his game was up, gave a sign, and the key turned the lock and the door swung open. Captain Trench went in; the great store-room was entirely empty: not one single sack of grain was there.

Captain Trench came out and said to the Governor: "Why did you bring me to this empty store-room? I want to see your stores of grain, and not empty rooms. The Governor apologised to Captain T., and swore at his servants for having made fools of them all, and ordered them at once to open those store-rooms where the grain was. The servants' faces were a study, and their hands and knees literally shook, as they did not know which orders they were to obey—the ones given by the Governor

A Trip to Ladakh

248 before the arrival of Captain Trench or the ones now
661 given. However, the Governor pointed to another door,
and ordered it to be opened. Again there was going to
be the same waste of time over the keys, when Captain
T. cut it short by stepping towards the battering-ram and
asking me to help him.

Then the door was opened, and we found this store-
room also absolutely empty. At last the play was over
—the chief actor, forgetting all his greatness, fell on his
knees before Captain T., and with hands in the attitude
of prayer pleaded for mercy. Captain Trench told him
to go home, and he would see him at the Public Durbar
next day. So our tea with the Governor was off, and
we went back to camp with much to think about.
Captain Trench had caught out this scoundrel properly,
but how about providing grain for the people under his
care with an empty store-house? Next day was a very
great day. Officials of all sorts came pouring in from
all sides on their ponies—some from villages 100 miles
or more distant. There were Chaukidars, Chakdars,
Lambardars, Zaildars, Tehsildars, Thanidars, and I do
not know how many other dars and small rajas and
wazirs, with their retainers, all in their best clothes. It
was a great sight. All were on the tiptoe of excite-
ment, for they had heard how the Sahib had caught out
the Brahman Governor. A few were anxious and sad,
for had they not worked with him and shared in some of
the loot; but the great majority had known of this whole-
sale robbery, but had not dared to mention it, for was
not the Governor a great man, of a noble family, and in
high favour at Court.

648 Captain Trench soon made it plain what he thought of
695 this great scoundrel. It was a treat watching the faces
of the multitude as this villain received his deserts. I

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INDIA AND PAKISTAN

433 have a high standard of durability. The supply of hides and skins was large, as the Hindu orthodoxy of the ruling house prohibited cow-slaughter and so inflated the numbers of cattle. The production of high-grade rag paper was once important, but has declined before the growth of the Indian mill industry. Finally we may note the importance of water-borne traffic: much of the provisioning of the city is done by flat-bottomed boats, 50-60 ft long and drawing 2 ft or so, which can carry up to 30 tons of cargo. The boatmen, particularly those who man the tourist house-boats, have a reputation for supplementing licit earnings by following the world's second oldest trade.

505 Much of the importance of the Vale, and hence of Srinagar, lies in its function as a staging-base on the Himalayan routes. The Sn entries have already been mentioned; to the NW the road to Gilgit and the Oxus lies across the Raj Diangan Pass (11,800 ft) into the Kishen Ganga Valley and then by the Burzil (13,755) into Astor; both these passes not without danger in winter. But the most important trade route, leading either up the Indus into Tibet or across the Karakoram into Sinkiang, is that to the NE by the Zoji La. At 11,578 ft this is the lowest col on the main W Himalayan axis, a pass of the Maloja type with the steep ascent on the S: this is due to the Sind cutting back into the headwaters of the Dras, which lies on the drier side of the mountains and has much farther to go before it reaches 5200 ft, the local base-level of the Sind.

161 If anywhere on earth presents the semblance of the Happy Valley of
 439 *Rasselas*, it is the Vale of Kashmir; but however pleasant the prospects, the
 661 human history of the region has been, on the whole, vile. To begin with, it is probably over-populated; density in Anantnag (Srinagar) Dt is 303 (and of course far higher in relation to cultivated area), and it is significant that sugar and grain come next to cotton goods in the Kashmiri import list. Beyond this it is hardly an exaggeration to say that the whole history of Kashmir for the last few centuries has been one of misgovernment and oppression, often deliberate, of the peasantry for the benefit of narrow Court cliques; nor was this tradition dead in this century. At this point it is probably appropriate to discuss the present Indo-Pakistani conflict.

THE KASHMIR DISPUTE

631 'The trouble in Kashmir' stems finally from the simple fact that a popu-
 668 lation 77% Muslim was ruled by a family of the strictest Hindu orthodoxy, descendants of a particularly able and ruthless *condottiere* under the Sikhs, Gulab Singh of Jammu, who 'mediated' between British and Sikhs to his own profit. It is safe to say that at no time in the century's existence of the state have relations between the dominant Dogra Rajputs of Jammu and the Muslim majority been other than those of exploiters and exploited, to such an extent that until quite recently agricultural progress was still